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New Republic

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SECOND-CLASS GOVERNMENT:
THE JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS

AN EDITORIAL

- **A BILL OF RIGHTS IN THE ARMED FORCES**

By JEAN BEGEMAN

- **IT'S OIL THAT KEEPS MEXICO RUNNING**

By ROLAND GOODMAN

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From BOTH Sides of the Atlantic

THE OLD CURMUDGEON HIMSELF

Harold L. Ickes' forthright honesty makes for lively reading whether he writes on Judith Coplon, Henry Julian Wadleigh, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Robert A. Taft, Harvard, hysteria in the Justice Department, or an Indian land grab in Oklahoma. You can always depend on his insight to bring to light revealing facts and expert opinion about men and events in this country. His column in the *New Republic* is an exclusive, weekly feature which every liberal should read.

PERCY WINNER

Writing from the eastern shore of the Atlantic these days is the *New Republic's* Foreign Affairs editor, Percy Winner. He is arranging, also, for articles by discerning Europeans. Mr. Winner tells *New Republic* readers, currently, about talk going the rounds in Paris and Rome, why Moscow's men in Western Europe are treating the Anglo-American duel with restraint, what the political Right is up to in Italy and in France, why the economic problem of Western Europe has shifted. All of his articles deeply concern liberals on this side of the Atlantic.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

RARELY HAS a Congressional committee room been so crowded. Its sides measured 25x50. Five movie cameras stood in the corner and whirred like summer locusts as witnesses testified. Their attendant kleig lights from four big dishpan reflectors, tacked under the domed ceiling, canceled out the air-conditioning system and turned the chamber into a blinding oven. Incongruous photographs of national parks lined the walls. A long oblong table with 25 committee seats filled the chamber like a ship in dry dock, but 50 folding chairs, of the body-racking variety, were nevertheless squeezed against the walls and here listeners squirmed. This was the unveiling of the Administration's historic $1.45 billion arms program before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Elegant, ruddy-faced Secretary Acheson came first, his upper-class voice heard above the strident cameras. Knowing the legislative revolt against the plan, he yet gave no sign of it; his display of unswerving confidence was impressive. Defense chiefs and military brass followed; their keynote was calmness and conviction. There was no tub-thumping. The committee listened non-committally but was obviously flattered that it, not the Senate, was the center of the show. The outcome? —Congress appears to agree with the principle of the military project; the catch is they don't want to pay for it.

The basic paradox of the Truman Administration is the difference between the President's almost radical words and the men advising him. The difference between the men around Roosevelt and the men around Truman, as John Fischer said in last month's *Harper's*, is about 80 pounds around the paunch. Now Truman has named Tom Clark to the Supreme Court. The importance of the new member is shown by the court schism now existing. In the last three years there have been 86 five-to-four decisions. Cases with dissenting opinions have steadily risen and reached the high mark of 74 percent in the recent session. Murphy's death reduced the Black-Douglas-Rutledge liberal bloc to three against the Frankfurter-Jackson-Burton conservative bloc and the two "swing" men, Vinson and Reed, who frequently hold the balance of power.

The court is a third legislative house that can block progress for years. This column regards Clark as a conservative. His choice at this juncture is a bitter disappointment. In all calmness and candor we submit that it indicates Truman does not have an intellectual grasp of the difference between conservatism and liberalism in the judicial sense.

Newspaper editorials are handling the Spellman-Roosevelt exchange gingerly, but we have not seen one yet that was unfavorable to Mrs. Roosevelt. It is being discussed by word of mouth from one end of the country to another. It is one of those things likely to be quietly stored away in memory for years to come and is bound to have political consequences. Representative Jacobs (D, Ind.), a Catholic, commented, "It will bring no good to either my church or my country." Catholic liberal intellectuals seem to be suffering more than anyone as a result of the affair.

The word, folks, is "oligopoly." That's what we have in America, not "monopoly." Under monopoly you are gypped by just one big trust; under oligopoly you are gypped by a few trusts acting more or less in concert. The first system is illicit, the second perfectly legal. The small competitor has as much difficulty under the second

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system as the first. This information is coming out before the Celler Committee in the House which is making a quiet survey of monopoly practices.

The most fascinating testimony so far came from Adolf Berle, who said that the top corporate giants in the US are growing two or three times as fast as all other corporations. The reason we had never fully realized it before: they generate their own capital. Small company AB&C has to go out on the open market and hire money in stock and bond issues; big company XY&Z, on the other hand, simply takes the capital it needs out of current income. Instead of distributing profits as dividends, it retains them for investment.

From 1919 to 1947, says Berle, more than 34 percent of the total American financing came from money earned by corporations and not distributed as dividends. We consider this one of the most important little old statistics we have heard in a long time. What it means is that once a corporation has snowballed into gianthood it almost can't help staying big.

Notes. It's hard to overstate Britain's fiscal crisis; returned government experts feel political leaders aren't facing facts. . . . Recommended reading, *Congress on Trial*, by James M. Burns (Harpers; $3)—the most complete disclosure we have seen that the President and Congress are elected by two different and conflicting electorates. Executive power constantly grows, says Burns, because in a final choice between legislative deadlock and dictatorship the voters take the second. . . . Just when US Steel wanted to prove it couldn't pay higher wages, its semi-annual report showed the fattest profits in 20 years; it was funny to see board chairman Olds shake his head gloomily over the next six months. . . . Congratulations to Senator McCarran: with the release of the unsubstantiated anonymous attack on the UN staff for alleged Communism from "Witness Number 8," we feel he has attained the goal to which he has aspired: He is at last on a par with Martin Dies and J. Parnell Thomas.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Inside Story

SIR: Professor Commager's "Red-Baiting in the Colleges" (the *NR*, July 25) was a courageous article. It is unfortunate that he was unable to state the basic cause of the spreading blackout of academic freedom in America.

What Professor Commager fails to realize is that the attitudes and actions of President Allen and the Board of Regents of the University of Washington are determined by the same forces that dominate the rich alumni on whom they rely for funds. They are, in fact, an integral part of the ruling class and faithfully execute its policies in their special field of responsibility. If we are to comprehend and combat the mounting offensive against academic freedom we must understand that ultimately it is a symptom of the crisis of American capitalism and that immediately it comes as much from inside the academic community as from outside.

A remark made in 1921 by that greatest of American social scientists, Thorstein Veblen, is relevant:

> Under cover of it all the American profiteers have diligently gone about their business of getting something for nothing at the cost of all concerned, while popular attention has been taken up with the maudlin duties of civil and religious intolerance. (*Essays in Our Changing Order*, p. 432.)

New York City J. PAUL ALEXANDER

Cure for Fuzzy Minds

SIR: I have been displeased for some time with the fuzzy-minded liberalism of the *New Republic*, and I want to tell you just why.

You keep lamenting the empty Truman victory and yet you continue to stumble along with the Democratic Party, demanding that the party make things better tomorrow, when it can't and won't. . . .

Your answer to the Southern Democrats and the McCarrans is, "clear 'em up in '50 and '52!" But how long can we delay trying a positive program for peace and prosperity? . . .

You blame the President for his lack of leadership (the *NR*; Feb. 21) in not even managing the repeal of the Taft-Hartley "thing." If we liberals were not so fuzzy-minded, we would know that the blame rests on us. We have not created the disciplined liberal party that we need, with a platform that says something sincerely and an organization that demands a responsible Congress. . . .

Do you really feel that we liberals have found the right road? Are we on a road at all? You report in a recent *New Republic* (July 25): "They [British workers] feel that at least they are on the right road, no matter how much farther they have to go, and they fear their American friends have yet to find the right way ahead." Why don't we American liberals hurry up and find the right, the Democratic Socialist way!

Here is, in a few words, my prescription for the cure of the fuzzy-mindedness of American liberals: an earnest, long-range program, embodying the fundamentals of Democratic Socialism as set forth by Norman Thomas, together with the present-day aims of the Fair Deal; plus a disciplined party that will vote down the line on the platform regardless of pressures.

New Bedford, Mass. JEAN C. PARSONS

Facts on Jobs

SIR: The Bureau of the Census issues monthly a rather complete picture of the labor force—yet we go on talking about three or four million out of work and nothing alarming about the prospect, etc. Why doesn't someone point out that the labor force has been arbitrarily trimmed by some six or eight million since war times—and that many of these people probably would be active job seekers if there was the remotest chance of finding one. We cite 60 million jobs as if it were a magic figure, when the population needs 65 or 70 million even at the old rate of employment.

We now have (according to the July 8 issue of the B of C monthly, p. 57, No. 84) 3,778,000 entirely without work, 2,167,000 more or less attached to a job but not working during the week in question (June 5-11), and 1,753,000 working 14 hours a week or less—making even at this level some 7.5 million working less than two days a week. Add 2,300,000 only being paid for 15 to 21 hours a week, 2,171,000 from 22 to 29 hours, and 2,905,000 from 30 to 34 hours—and you have nearly 15 million on part-time or less. Of course nearly 8 million are working more than 60 hours a week, which might be said to even up but actually makes the picture worse than ever. . . .

We may find that unemployment is the weak spot of our system if the entire job is not tackled—and soon—on a permanent basis. We may not actually have a depression such as in the 90's and 30's, but we're certainly going to have a selective one—by industry, area, employability, etc.—if we don't work out some basic plan to keep the entire population busy and with at least a minimum standard of living.

Brooklyn, N. Y. AUSTIN BILLINGS

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VOLUME 121, NUMBER 6, ISSUE 1810, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 8, 1949 **New Republic**

SECOND-CLASS GOVERNMENT

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S penchant for selecting inferior men for positions of the highest national trust has reached a climax in the appointment of Tom C. Clark to the Supreme Court of the United States. The mediocrity so prevalent elsewhere in the government seems now about to settle on the Court.

With the exception of Dean Acheson, no outstanding man has been named to the executive department of the government since President Truman received his new mandate from the voters. Louis Johnson and Maurice Tobin were typical second-class choices. Influential as such appointments have been, however, they were in no degree so disappointing or permanently harmful as the naming of Attorney General Clark to the Supreme Court. Here, indeed, is a fatal example of Truman's seemingly fixed policy of making public appointments on personal consideration.

Clark has been a loyal member of Truman's cabinet and a conscientious Democrat. He has been easy-going and good-natured when others around the White House were short-tempered and despairing. To a President who prizes amiability and cheerfulness, these apparently seemed overriding virtues when the time came to select a new key member for the highest judiciary. Tom Clark has always tried to do what he thought the President wanted. Undoubtedly, the President expects that he will continue to behave in the same manner as a member of the Supreme Court bench. But there is strong indication that Clark's choice was dictated by Chief Justice Vinson. As a result, if the new Justice sides consistently with his sponsor, Justices Douglas, Black and Rutledge will become an isolated minority, particularly in cases involving civil rights.

Justice Murphy (as we pointed out in our editorial of August 1) was the true apostle of civil rights on the Court, leading all the judges in the number of times he voted in favor of civil-rights claimants (in 53 out of 56 cases in the last three years). If Clark follows the lead of Justice Vinson (who shares with the other border-state Justice, Stanley Reed, the worst record on the Court in civil-rights cases, with only eight votes in favor of civil-rights claimants to 49 against), the Court will not long remain the strong protector of the weak and the wronged it has been in recent years.

With Clark on the Court, the government will be handicapped. Having served as Attorney General while dozens of pending matters were being prepared for court action, Clark will be forced to disqualify himself from sitting on a multitude of cases for years to come. Mr. Justice Clark could not be permitted to rule on the numerous cases of anti-trust violations and alleged subversive activities now on their way to the Supreme Court; on the matter of the fine against John L. Lewis for contempt; and on the appeal of the Railway Brotherhoods concerning the right of the government to enjoin strikes, since it was Attorney General Clark who precipitated these actions. As a result, there will be one less vote for the Administration.

Almost the only major issue on which Clark is recorded as progressive is monopoly control. His addition to the Court can be expected to produce a shift to the Right on most other matters. On labor questions, certain to constitute a major share of Court work in the near future, Clark is as doubtful as he is on civil rights. The speed with which he rushed to use the injunction against Lewis and the United Mine Workers is not reassuring. His testimony on the Taft-Hartley Act, arguing for the "inherent right of the President" to seize plants involved in labor disputes, is further cause for alarm. Under his direction, in the portal-to-portal and overtime-on-overtime cases, the Justice Department went into court to argue against the Department of Labor and the trade-union position. At a time when the delicate five-to-four balance in favor of the liberal wing in the Court was already shifting to the Right, President Truman has appointed a man who seems likely to line up with or to the Right of conservative Chief Justice Vinson.

Truman's two previous appointments to the highest judiciary—Justices Vinson and Burton—were also far from distinguished. Chief Justice Vinson has proved to be a conservative rather than a liberal influence. Justice Burton, usually objective students of the Court say, was perhaps the worst selection in the last 100 years. Neither man has improved the Court's ability to get its regular work done, since their judicial experience is completely inadequate. In the 30's the Supreme

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Court decided approximately 250 cases per year on their merits. Now the Court is deciding only 125 cases per year and is sitting two or three weeks longer.

Today the Court is keeping its head out of water mainly because chance has temporarily halved its load. The Supreme Court as an effective instrument of government, purely on the point of competence, was at its peak after the first of the New Deal appointments was made. This latest appointment of another man unqualified as a judge completes the process of reducing the Court to an instrument incapable of performing its tasks. President Truman wisely put aside considerations of race or religion in making his latest selection. Had he chosen to make merit the sole test, he could have contributed enormously to the efficiency and stature of our entire judiciary.

The tragedy of Truman's Fair Deal has been that first-rate intentions have constantly been dissipated through second-class people. Unquestionably, Truman possesses above average ability to envision the high purpose of his office. He fails in execution. He has set a personal example of honesty and dedication for the friends about him to follow. But he has never seemed to comprehend Woodrow Wilson's basic maxim: "Constitute them how you will, governments are always governments of men, and no part of any government is better than the men to whom that part is entrusted."

THE WEEK

THE CARDINAL AND MRS. FDR

Whether Cardinal Spellman's amazingly bitter attack on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was inspired by politicians like James A. Farley, by the Vatican, or merely sprang from the Cardinal himself, it has raised a most serious problem for the whole nation. The position taken by the Church on the question of federal aid to education reflects a growing intolerance on its part, an alarming confidence that it can use the fear of Communists and Communism to mold this country into conformity with its pattern.

During Senate consideration of the federal-aid-to-education bill earlier this year, the Catholic Church remained quiescent. Catholics agreed not to oppose added benefits for public-school children in return for Protestant support of school health appropriations from which parochial as well as public schools were to benefit. The change in the attitude of the Catholics between the time of Senate action and introduction of the Barden bill in the House, which prompted Cardinal Spellman's outburst against Mrs. Roosevelt, forbodes a period of painful religious controversy. Instances of conflict between Catholics and members of other denominations all over the country have been sharply increasing. Following the Vatican's latest pronouncement on Communism, they are bound to occur still oftener. The tragic import of the Cardinal's action is that the Catholic hierarchy, which should be using its influence to create peace and understanding between the faiths, is pursuing the opposite course.

Before this incident, religious bigotry seemed almost to have disappeared from the American Congress. Since the passing of Tom Heflin from the Senate, attacks by prejudiced Congressmen on the religion of others have been almost unheard. Catholic members of Congress have adhered with commendable strictness to the doctrine laid down by Alfred E. Smith:

> I recognize no power in the institutions of my Church to interfere with the operation of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land. . . . I believe in the absolute separation of Church and State and in the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution that Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . .

It is a sad fact that Cardinal Spellman's extraordinary attack, first on Representative Barden and then on Mrs. Roosevelt, has defeated any chance for the enactment of federal aid to education in this session of Congress. It is quite possible that the controversy, if aroused, will prevent the passage of such legislation for a number of years. This is a grievous price to pay for the Cardinal's effort to lessen the traditional American division between Church and State.

Even more tragic, however, is the possibility that the Catholic question will begin to pervade a much wider area than that of federal aid to education. Intolerance on one side is sure to produce an intolerant reaction on the other. With our vast minority problem, the impact could be devastating to the whole fabric of American unity.

DEMOCRATIC COMEBACK

JACKSON (NR correspondent)

The Dixiecrat revolt, last year's news in most of the nation, is still headlines in the South. In Mississippi, where the Truman Democrats were swamped last November, the States' Rights Party has an uphill fight to retain control of the state party machinery through next year's primary election.

Last year, even those who agreed with the national party did not dare oppose the powerful forces aligned behind the Dixiecrats, including the state machine and the press. Since that time, however, the loyal Democrats of Mississippi have held a successful Jackson Day dinner and a statewide Democratic forum meeting, preliminary to establishment of formal party machinery of their own. This was

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accomplished against every kind of opposition the States' Righters could invent.

The Dixiecrat State Committee announced that anyone who attended the Democratic forum would have his name taken down as one who was "for civil rights," a social stigma. The state committee called on all county committees to condemn the forum officially. Fifteen of the 86 in the state did. Some county committees passed resolutions stating that those who attended the forum would not be allowed to vote in the future. Professors at Millsaps College unofficially informed students that attending the forum would mean not being graduated. The Governor of Mississippi delivered a 30-minute broadcast over a statewide hookup to decree that forum attendance would be considered a sin against Mississippi democracy.

Nevertheless a Democratic forum was held. Five hundred Mississippians heard Assistant Attorney General Lamar Caudle, Democratic Women's Director India Edwards and CIO-PAC Assistant Director Tilford Dudley preach the Fair Deal gospel while photographers snapped pictures of the audience. The meeting voted to appoint immediately an acting Democratic chairman, to supersede existing Dixiecrat officials, in every county and precinct of the state, and following that to hold precinct, county and finally a state convention to establish a legal Democratic State Committee in Mississippi, in conformity with state laws. The Democratic National Committee is giving its full support to this program. It looks as though the Dixiecrat party may have to run under its true colors next year.

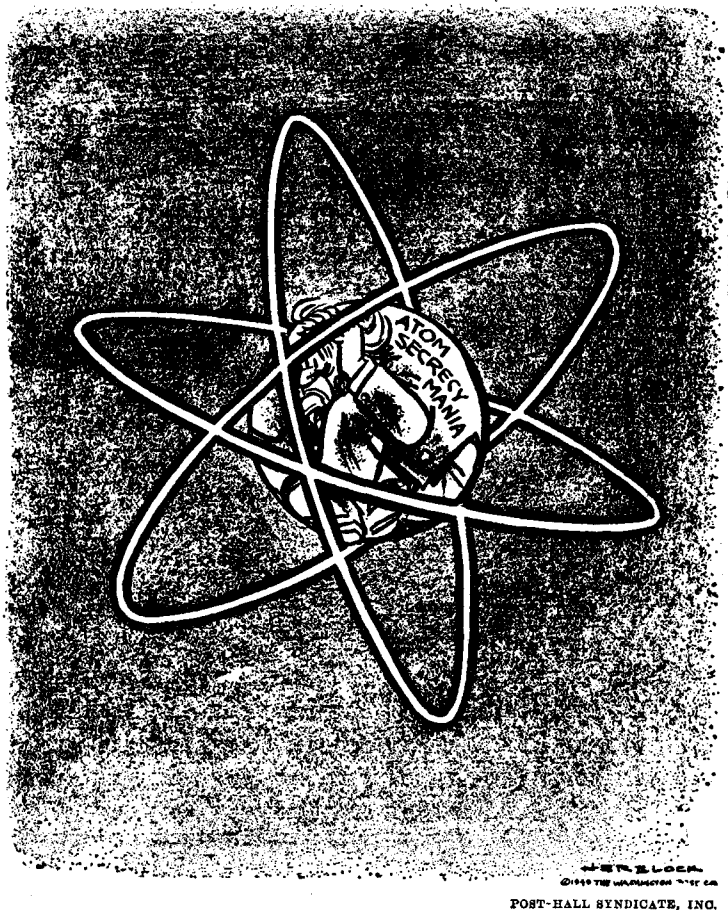
RACE BAITERS LOSE HEART

The House of Representatives has made its fifth gesture toward repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. Southern members behaved as usual in trying to block the will of the majority. But, though 10 roll-call votes on motions to adjourn, table and otherwise delay were forced before passage (273-116), the heart seemed to have gone out of even the most fanatical of the Dixieland race-baiters. Georgia's Gene Cox and Mississippi's John Rankin ranted and roared but turned off the thunder when it was all over.

Even if there should be a Republican move to bring up the anti-poll-tax bill in the Senate before the end of this session in accordance with the GOP pledge at the time of the filibuster fight last January, the Democratic leadership will oppose it. In a carefully guarded White House conference, Presidential Counsel Clark Clifford, Senators Lucas, Myers and McGrath, and representatives of the leading Negro, Jewish and labor organizations in the country agreed that the FEPC is to be taken up in the Senate before any other item in the President's civil-rights program. And the Administration committed itself to bring the FEPC up in this session. Clifford and others at first favored giving priority either to the anti-lynching bill or to an omnibus civil-rights measure. Surprisingly, it was the usually conservative Lew Himes, AFL legislative representative, who insisted that the next civil-rights test be on an "understandable bread and butter" issue.

The minority groups argued for combating the inevitable filibuster by physical attrition this time instead of by the unwieldy closure machinery which failed the Administration before. Majority Leader Lucas flatly declared the Democrats do not have the physical force to do that. Where the Republicans would need only one man on the floor at a time, the Administration would have to maintain a majority of the Senate on constant call to prevent moves for adjournment from succeeding. The President's party isn't up to that, his Majority Leader is frank to say. So it is to be closure again.

Some day, after the reciprocal-trade



Gilded Cage

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bill has been passed and when business is slack, a Democrat will move to bring up the anti-poll-tax bill, and another filibuster will be on. If, as expected, the motion to close debate fails again, as it did in January, the President would still have recourse to a special session. The leaders who got the commitment from the White House to bring up the FEPC in the Senate now have made it plain that, in their opinion, closure may never work in a regular business session of Congress when appropriations and routine legislation generate such heavy pressure for speed. They will push for a special session on civil rights even if economic conditions do not force Congress to return before January.

THE AGRICULTURE FEUD

What little chance there was of rescuing the Administration's plan for farmers and consumers in the Senate has been killed because of Senator Clinton Anderson's personal animosity toward Secretary Charles Brannan.

Former Secretary of Agriculture Anderson has chosen to ignore the proposals offered by the present Secretary and has drafted his own program, designed to give no offense to the powerful Farm Bureau Federation, which was largely responsible for the defeat of the Brannan program in the House.

The Anderson compromise probably will follow the line of the Aiken Act which Anderson helped write while he was Secretary. It would amend the flexible price-support provisions to a rigid 90 percent of parity on basic crops—cotton, corn, wheat, rice, peanuts and tobacco—and lower flexible supports for semi-perishables and perishables. Anderson's record, since he has been in the Senate, has been one of complete indifference to Administration farm measures. Brannan was not his choice for Secretary.

If the result of all this is bad farm legislation, Brannan may still come out on top. The farmers could decide to express their resentment at the polls in 1950 as strongly as they registered their fears of a change in agriculture policy in 1948.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Roman Catholic Church has consistently and vigorously opposed Marxist Communism during the entire century since the *Communist Manifesto* was published. Only the degree of intensity has varied, and this in relation to the Church's judgment of the threat presented by Communism to the doctrines and institutions of Catholic Christendom. During the present generation there has been a steady increase in the opposition.

Pope Pius XI attacked Communism in two important encyclicals. In the *Quadragesimo Anno* he warned the "good and faithful sons of the Church" against Communism's "impious and unjust nature." In the *Divini Redemptoris* he called Communism a doctrine which "deprives man of his liberty" and "fails to give the individual in his relationship to the collectivity any of the natural rights of the human person." Pope Pius XII has from the very start of his pontificate struck out again and again at Communism both as a doctrine and as a political movement whose "materialistic and anti-Christian" purposes would, if successful, undermine the proper bases of society as the Church sees them. For example, in the speech of the present pontiff made on Easter, 1948, on the eve of the Italian national election, he made it a moral obligation for Catholics to vote for candidates hostile to Communism. He also called upon the priests and other ecclesiastics to cast their votes; and since such voters were bound by religious vows, his word had the force of religious law operating politically.

The Roman Catholic Church's attitude toward liberalism has, however, been less consistent over the whole century. Pope Pius IX condemned almost all aspects of liberalism in the famous *Syllabus of Errors*, and for nearly fifty years the influence of the Church and its ministers was thrown into the balance in favor of the "old order." But in the last decade of the nineteenth century Pope Leo XIII while continuing the opposition to Communism—calling it "a mortal plague"—revised the Church's attitude toward liberalism. He did this especially in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which created the basis for a form of Catholic liberalism.

In the first years of the present century the two formal Church attitudes toward liberalism—the one unflinchingly opposed, the other relatively conciliatory—coexisted. In countries like Spain, Austria, Hungary, Poland, countries in which the Church hierarchies were themselves great landowners, the Church was on the side of reaction. In other countries, such as France, Catholic liberalism developed. Before the start of World War I Catholic labor unions had been created in such countries as France, Italy, Germany, Holland and Belgium and there were Catholic Centrist parties concerned with social justice.

During the early years of Fascism the Church tended to coöperate with Mussolini. Later, and especially when German Nazism tried to invade provinces such as education of the young in a fashion which the Vatican considered dangerous, Catholic liberals became anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi. During the Spanish Civil War, there were "good" Catholics on both sides—the Frenchman Georges Bernanos wrote passionately against Franco, and there were Catholics in the International Brigades. During the period of the Resistance, between 1941 and 1945, Catholic liberals took an important part in the various movements, working in coöperation with men of other faiths and parties, including even the Communists. By the end of World War II the old Catholic Centrist political parties had grown into such powerful left-of-center groups as the Popular Republicans in France and the Christian Democrats in Italy. But a change set in during the cold war;

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and as the conflict between the West and East sharpened, the liberals lost strength and the anti-liberals came to the fore in the Catholic labor movements and political parties.

This background has a direct relevance to the most recent and most grave step taken by the Church against Communism—the decree issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office. By the terms of this decree, a Roman Catholic can no longer be an active Communist. This aspect is clear. So is the fact that the decree's immediate effect (and purpose) is to strengthen the Holy See in its struggle —both religious and political—against the Kremlin in the Soviet satellite countries. But the decree also has a bearing on the Church's formal attitude toward liberalism and democratic processes. This is true because the decree says unequivocally that it is "illegal" for a Catholic not only to write anything pro-Communist but also to *read* "books, periodicals, newspapers or tracts which propagate the doctrine or activities of the Communists."

In reply to the query whether the Catholic "who knowingly and of his own will" does such reading "can be admitted to the sacraments" of the Church, the plenary session of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office on June 28 promulgated this answer: "By the negative; the interdiction is pronounced after *ipso jure* examination (Number 1339 of Canon Law)." On June 30 Pope Pius XII approved this answer, giving the force of law to a provision that seems to prevent faithful Catholics from carrying out a primary essential of liberal democracy —the duty of making political judgments on objective evidence.

France is the country in which Catholics are most likely to feel the effect of the apparent conflict between their duties as communicants of a church and as citizens of a state, for there Catholic liberals, more than in other Western European countries, have continued to work for social justice and economic reforms. French Socialist and elder statesman Léon Blum said recently, on the eve of the Socialist Party Congress, that the real struggle in the world is not between Soviet Russia and America, nor between Socialism and Communism, but between "democratic Socialism and dictatorial pseudo-Socialism." Many French Catholics applauded him.

The decree of the Holy Office raises the question of the degree of coöperation Catholic liberals can give to any form of democratic Socialism. On January 31 French Cardinal Suhard issued a statement in which he said:

> Undoubtedly there may be circumstances that can lead Catholics toward a course of action parallel to that of the Communists in a conduct required by a general interest in precise and limited objectives, without any essential link with the real purposes of the [Communist] party; but the Church cannot permit an habitual and profound coöperation.

French liberal Catholics let it be understood that their coöperation was "parallel" but neither habitual—nor profound. A month later the *Osservatore Romano*, official Vatican newspaper, wrote, "Not only must all coöperation be excluded, but the greatest care is necessary, even in questions of detail where there can be a convergent action." During the spring Cardinal Tisserand warned the Catholic Progressives, an organization of French Catholics which includes fellow travelers with Communism, that the Church had the right to defend its interests by political as well as by religious action.

The present situation, as it emerges after the Holy Office decree, suggests that steps previously withheld against prominent Catholic laymen and clerics may now be taken. A case in point is the decision of the Federation of Christian Trade Unions to coöperate with the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor in joint action against reactionary efforts to cripple social-security legislation. Catholic liberals may have to make a choice, and the result may not be a gain either for laical liberalism or for the liberal goals of the *Rerum Novarum*. It remains to be seen whether such important Catholic publications as *Esprit* will change the attitude which was expressed recently in the statement:

> We should explain to America that international tension cannot be eliminated by military alliances and the armaments race, but that a solution must be sought in an effort to allow the two blocs to coexist, while allowing certain historic processes to mature and at the same time organizing all possible economic links between the two. We would also contribute to peace by showing Russia that we refuse to take part in any criminal and ruinous crusade.

In addition to the Catholic Progressives, there are other French Catholic liberal organizations, in no sense fellow traveling, whose future is now put in question. Millions of Frenchmen are in the leftist Youth of the Church, the Fighters for Liberty, the Union of French Women, and the Union of Republican Youth of France. There are working-class youths in the JOC—Catholic Working Youths—and there are working-class priests in the Mission of Paris and the Mission of France. If the Holy Office decree is applied to all these Catholics, French liberalism will suffer a truly terrible blow.

On the other hand, if the provisions are not applied in French liberal Catholic circles, the force of the anti-Communist blow will be blunted. If only the provisions which directly affect Catholics in the Soviet satellite countries are put into effect, the Kremlin will be able to set its propaganda machine at work on the themes of "persecution" and "politics parading as religion." The apparent purposes of the Holy Office's decree—to clear up any confusion in the minds of Catholics and to strengthen the moral and spiritual bases of the West's case against the East—may not be accomplished in either case. It is not easy to dismiss the view—widely held in French Catholic circles—that the decree has created more problems than it has settled for those Catholics of the West who are inspired by the liberal goals of the *Rerum Novarum*.

PERCY WINNER

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A MILITARY BILL OF RIGHTS

by Jean Begeman

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION is now endeavoring to prove its liberalism through the armed services. The Congressional civil war on civil rights has made it impossible for the Administration to show its sincerity on this vital part of the Fair Deal program with legislation this year. Enforcement of fair racial policies in the Army, Navy and Air Force, however, is well within the Administration's power. Thorough reform of the backward and inefficient practices employed by all three of the services in this field would certainly be well received by the minority groups which did so much to elect President Truman last November.

One of the first actions of Truman's new Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson was to issue a stern demand that segregation throughout the armed forces be abolished, finally, definitely and promptly. Generals and admirals have heard this kind of talk from outsiders as long as we have had an Army and a Navy. This time, however, the West Point and Annapolis men are convinced that their civilian bosses really intend that sweeping changes shall be made, and they are reluctantly proceeding to make them.

The Fahy Committee, established one year ago under Executive Order 9981 to investigate the results of the armed-forces' use of Negro manpower during the last war, has concluded lengthy hearings and is finally preparing a detailed report for the President. Meanwhile, Secretary Johnson has speeded the movement toward reform by ordering the three services to report to him on present Negro participation in their individual branches.

"It is the National Military Establishment's policy," Secretary Johnson reminded the three chiefs, "that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." Actually, since the end of the last war, the National Military Establishment has been studying its Bourbon attitude toward minority personnel. And no one has been under any illusions that the policy stated by Secretary Johnson has ever been practised either in wartime or peace.

The Army has openly maintained strict separation of Negro and white troops. The Navy has gone through the motions of carrying out a policy of non-segregation, but when confronted with the facts admits that until recently the number of Negro officers and the variety of openings for them have been severely limited. The Air Force—the youngest and today the most important branch of the armed services—is the first of the three to take this matter seriously.

Since the Civil War, when the Federal Army was reorganized to provide that "the enlisted men of two regiments of infantry and . . . the enlisted men of two regiments of cavalry shall be colored men," this branch has held Negro peacetime enlistment to these four organizations except for a small number of motor-transport companies organized at the close of the 1930's. The Army in the past has excused its policy of racial segregation as "practical military expediency." It stated in a War Department pamphlet (20-6, 1944):

> There must be as little friction within the Army as possible. . . . A 1943 survey of attitudes of white and colored soldiers indicates that the odds are very much in favor of less interracial friction if colored and white enlisted men continue to be organized in separate racial units.

After two World Wars, the Army has learned that segregation is costly and inefficient, that the "friction" turned into friendship when Negroes joined white troops in noteworthy front-line combat action in the European theatre.

The Army has gradually accepted many of the recommendations of the Gillem Board which was set up in 1945 to study the utilization of Negro manpower in the Army. While it condoned the segregation policy, the Board called for more Negro units trained in a wider variety of non-combat arms and services, for utilizing Negro personnel with special skills or qualifications, and for allowing Negro officers to replace white officers in Negro units.

The Gillem Board recommended that the Army hold Negro enlistments to 10 percent of the total force. Since the close of the war, Negroes have been enlisting so far beyond the 10-percent quota that the Army has temporarily restricted their signing up. Removal of this arbitrary quota is an obvious first step the National Military Establishment can take to equalize opportunity for Negroes.

Today, according to James C. Evans, civilian assistant to Secretary Johnson, there are Negro soldiers serving in more than 250 units in almost every branch of the Army. In 1939, the Army had five Negro officers and about 4,500 enlisted men. Today there are 1,173 officers and 71,189 enlisted men. But the question of in-

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tegration, rather than segregation, remains unsolved.

There is no middle ground of "partial" segregation for the Army to take. Segregation inevitably connotes discrimination. The "integrated" front-line action of Negro and white troops in the Battle of the Bulge gave the Army opportunity to note and test again the battle conduct of Negro infantrymen and to see what would happen when Negro and white soldiers fought side by side as members of the same companies—a thing that had not been tried since the Revolution.

Official reports on the battle conduct of Negro troops found an overwhelming majority of white officers agreeing that Negro soldiers were highly competent. To the question: "How well did the colored soldiers perform in combat?" 84 percent of the officers and 81 percent of the men said "very well"; 16 percent of the officers and 17 percent of the men said "fairly well." Only one percent of the noncoms said "not so well" and another one percent were undecided. No one, either officer or noncom, said "not well at all."

The Army, because of its size as well as its tradition, is having a tougher time adjusting to Secretary Johnson's order than either the Navy or the Air Force. On May 26, the Army turned in a comprehensive memorandum, noting the progress it has made in utilizing Negro manpower and proposing a few not-too-drastic changes. Secretary Johnson returned it promptly with a polite note:

> I fully realize the grave problem presented by this question, and that it is of greater magnitude in the Army than in either the Navy or the Air Force. Nevertheless, I am forced to the conclusion that your proposals in reply to my second memorandum on this subject still fail to meet the basic intent of Executive Order 9981. . . . Accordingly, I am asking you to restudy your position and your proposals. . . .

Secretary Johnson is aware of the problems confronting the Army, the tendency toward racial prejudice in the top echelon, the unwritten and arbitrary rules such as the one which prohibits Negro officers from commanding units of white soldiers, thus imposing a limitation upon the promotion and use of Negro officers. Until the hidden quotas, delayed ratings and special screenings are abolished, the Army cannot claim to be carrying out Secretary Johnson's order.

The Navy has gradually made progress on the discrimination issue. During the early part of the war, Negroes were excluded from all combat ratings and were assigned exclusively to the mess and commissary branches. However, by the end of the war, Negro and white seamen were working so well together that the Navy issued a new order in 1946: "Effective immediately all restrictions governing types of assignments for which Negro naval personnel are eligible are hereby lifted. Henceforth they shall be eligible for all types of assignments in all ratings in all activities and all ships of the service."

But implementation of the Navy order has been slow. There are still only eight Negro officers. Some specialists and technicians have been trained and advanced without regard to color. The first Negro officer was graduated last month from Annapolis, and the first Negro naval aviator has finished his training at Pensacola. But more than two-thirds of the Negroes in the Navy are employed in commissary service jobs. There are 17,460 Negro enlisted men, only 5.5 percent of total Navy personnel.

The Navy's report, approved by Secretary Johnson on June 7, indicates a marked change in the Navy's overcautious attitude in carrying out its earlier declaration against discrimination. Negro petty officers will be assigned to duty in the Navy Recruiting Service to augment efforts to obtain Negro enlistments. All members of the steward branch who are qualified have been assured an opportunity to change their assignments and chief stewards will become chief petty officers. The Navy's directive states:

> In their attitude and day-to-day conduct of affairs, officers and enlisted personnel of the Navy and Marine Corps shall adhere rigidly and impartially to the Navy Regulations, in which no distinction is made between individuals wearing the uniform of these Services. . . . In the utilization of housing, messing, berthing and other facilities, no special or unusual provisions will be made for the accommodation of any minority race.

The Air Force has been the leader in implementing Secretary Johnson's order. Much of the credit goes to Secretary for Air Stuart Symington, who has a deep personal concern about segregation. Gunnar Myrdal's famous study of the Negro in America, *The American Dilemma,* made a lasting impression on Symington, and he is constantly using it as a text from which to lecture to the brass hats in the Pentagon. Symington prides himself on having been the first executive of the Emerson Electric Company of St. Louis, which he headed before coming into the government, to introduce Negro workers into skilled jobs.

First to comply with Secretary Johnson's order, the Air Force has backed up words with action. Adopting a new racial policy to utilize Negroes on the basis of "individual capacity," the Air Force has already begun reassigning the all-Negro 332nd Fighter Wing. Other personnel are being screened by their commands and

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their capabilities reëvaluated with a view to possible assignment changes or additional training.

The Air Force learned its lesson the hard way during the war. The 477th Bomb Group was moved from Selfridge Field, Michigan, to Godman Field, Kentucky, because some of the Negro officers had attempted to use the facilities of the Officers' Club at Selfridge. (Under Paragraph 19, Army Reg. 210-10, this was their privilege.) Immediately after the arrival of the group at Godman Field, the enlisted men were barred, under show of arms, from the main Fort Knox theatre. All positions of command were held by white officers, despite the fact that in flying hours, and in a few cases in actual combat experience, some of the Negro personnel had more experience than the white.

To avoid charges of outright discrimination, the Air Force listed all Negroes as "trainees"; all white officers as "supervisory" personnel. So, without using race as a method of differentiation, only *supervisory* personnel held positions which called for ranks above captain, only white officers could be promoted to field grade. Mess halls and officers' club facilities were separately designated for trainee and supervisory personnel.

When the same group was transferred to Freeman Field, Indiana, the matter came to a head. Negro officers again attempted to use the officers' club. They were ordered out and the club was closed. The commanding officer, before reopening the club, ordered every Negro officer to sign a statement that he would not attempt to use the facilities reserved for white officers. The result: 104 officers refused to sign, were placed under arrest and held for almost a month, no charges having been submitted against them. Finally, all were released; three were courtmartialed and later acquitted. But the CO managed to place a statement on the personnel forms of all of the 104 officers to the effect that they had been uncoöperative. Not one was permitted to remain in the service when the war was over, regardless of his ability.

Thus the Air Force had practised segregation in its worst form. The facilities were not equal and the positions of opportunity, of command and of policy-making were denied Negroes. The new policy will affect some 21,026 Negroes now serving in the Air Force—seven percent of its total manpower. Of this number 316 are officers, five are warrant officers.

If the Army follows the Air Force and the Navy in carrying out Secretary Johnson's order, the Administration undoubtedly will point to this as tangible evidence of its good faith on the civil-rights question. It will deserve compliments, if not enthusiastic acclaim. A policy of integration in the National Military Establishment is not exactly a daring or a dangerous experiment at this stage in our history. However, there is always the chance that, looking at such a new bill of rights for the defenders of our democracy, Congress will get the idea that it is about time to have equality among civilians as well.

IT'S OIL THAT KEEPS MEXICO RUNNING

by Roland Goodman

ELEVEN YEARS after its high-tension launching, the Western Hemisphere's largest socialized enterprise, apart from public utilities, is so much of a success that its chiefs must tread lightly lest they shake an entire country.

Petroleos Mexicanos, the Mexican government's $100 million subsoil-to-consumer oil monopoly, learned this lesson in the last few months, when Senator Antonio J. Bermudez, Pemex director-general, returned from Washington after weeks of negotiations without a definite reply to his request for a large United States credit.

Bermudez was the soul of discretion, letting it be known only that he had scaled down his request from $470 million for a five-year program to $200 million for three years' development work. But the red stone Pemex headquarters is as much of a whispering gallery as any federal office in Washington and soon rumors flooded Mexico City: There would be a $40 million loan, or none at all, or $100 million, or $200 million.

A foreign-trade deficit already was disturbing Mexico. The peso, supported at 4.85 to the dollar until June, 1948, had been decontrolled and had settled down to 6.95 to $1. The Pemex rumors triggered a new crisis. Speculators, preferring to believe the worst, tumbled the peso past nine to one, saw it recover to 7.95, then in mid-May knocked it down again to 8.40 to one.

This dramatic proof of oil's new role in Mexico has also intensified the close-mouthed attitude of everyone who has anything to do with it. Behind closed doors and off the record, information is available. But US oil men, flocking back to Mexico City in hopes of a new

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bonanza, and Pemex officials, following Bermudez's lead, refuse to give out the time of day for publication, for fear of upsetting a delicate situation.

There was no such silence when former President Lazaro Cardenas, on March 18, 1938, ordered the expropriation law applied to the larger foreign-owned oil companies. Mexico had benefited little from their work. Gutting the pools nearest the surface, they had seen 1,890 million barrels of oil flow from gushers and had shipped out as much as 90 percent of their annual output. The profits went abroad with the oil, while the companies complained of Mexican taxes that took less from them than did, for example, the US income taxes on the same profits.

But the loss of natural resources was hardly as offensive as the attitude of the foreigners, who treated their holdings as private empires, protected by small hired armies and bribery of judges, generals and governors. Comparatively high wages for Mexican workers did not salve their sense of pride when they were treated as inferiors or children and saw the best jobs, the comfortable homes, reserved for the foreigners.

Volumes have been written about the expropriation, but it is clear now that it was historically inevitable. Just as inevitable were the troubles that besieged Petroleos Mexicanos in its first years. It had insufficient technical and executive personnel, a boycott by the ousted companies closed its normal markets and even prevented it from buying equipment, and since 1930 salt-water had damaged the fields that once had been the world's richest. The foreign companies, having skimmed the cream, had let Mexican oil production slip from second to seventh place in the world.

When Miguel Aleman became President of Mexico in 1946, Pemex was still not a completely efficient operation, though its international relations had been clarified by settlement of the value of the expropriated properties, for which payments have been made on the dot. To lift Pemex over the hump—perhaps the toughest job in Mexico—Aleman selected Bermudez.

There is general agreement that he made a good choice. Still youthfully energetic, Bermudez has become gray-haired in his journey upward. His home base is Ciudad Juarez, across the Rio Grande from El Paso. Building a comfortable fortune as a liquor manufacturer, Bermudez attracted political attention when, as mayor, he cleaned up the border town's clip joints. The state treasurership of Chihuahua and a federal senatorship followed. Now he has been Pemex chief for two years, and there is even some premature talk of the presidency for him.

As for his Pemex achievements, listen to a foreign oil man who has no special love for Mexico:

"Bermudez is absolutely honest; he has plenty of money of his own. He's a good businessman and has improved Pemex operations tremendously, though he lacked oil and administrative experience when he went in. Efficiency has gone up and overstaffing has been cut, though it's probably impossible to end nepotism and political job-holders. There is still a lot to be done, though."

Bermudez's friends point out that not a single relative of his is employed by Pemex, and add that, while he may have known nothing previously about the oil business, he had had plenty of administrative training in handling his own and public finances.

Under Bermudez, crude-oil production, which had been averaging about 40 million barrels a year, climbed to 58,529,201 in 1948. Out of 960,902,000 pesos in gross receipts, only 190 million of it from foreign sales, Pemex paid 311,671,265 pesos in taxes into the national treasury. This was about a sixth of the government's income, making Pemex the largest contributor, according to Bermudez.

While financial details are closely guarded by Pemex, a little information slips out once in a while. In May of this year, for instance, Bermudez revealed that Pemex had a current deficit of 193.5 million pesos, and had just suspended exploratory and drilling work in unproved areas, as well as some other development work. This was in reply to a union demand for wage raises. When one local paper used the word "bankruptcy" in its headline on the story, Bermudez indignantly denied that Pemex was broke, and said that the deficit was a temporary budget matter. Actually, his original statement was issued in the heat of a labor argument, and there seems little reason to doubt that Pemex's current operations are self-supporting. It is equally certain that its long-range problems are tremendous.

Internally, Pemex's worries grow from the ballooning mechanization of Mexico, to which it has contributed greatly. Jorge L. Cummings, assistant chief Pemex geologist and very much a Mexican in spite of his name, estimated that domestic petroleum consumption would reach 70.2 million barrels annually by 1955, while production would decline to 42.8 million barrels. Several new fields which Pemex considers promising have been brought into initial production since he made his prediction.

With some 250,000 autos, trucks and buses, and tens

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of thousands of tourist cars using Mexico's 15,000 miles of good highways, and with new factories by the hundreds, the country has turned into a major petroleum consumer. In the 1945-48 period, Pemex exported only 21.5 percent of its output, and its big headache is one that any private firm would welcome: how to produce and deliver enough to meet the internal demand.

The export problem concerns the nation as a whole as much as it does Pemex. Dollars are needed not only for oil equipment, but also for all the manufactured goods Mexico does not yet produce, as well as for some foods in short supply. It will be difficult to increase the dollar income from metallic and agricultural exports; Mexico is counting instead on the tourist trade and oil.

The answer lies in whether the oil is there, in whether Pemex has the technical skill and financial resources to produce and deliver it, and, to a lesser extent, in the labor situation.

A year ago Cummings estimated proved Mexican oil reserves at 1,058 million barrels, less than the annual US production and barely double what Venezuela now yields. But Horace Harper Braun of the US Embassy staff in Mexico City said more boldly, in a 1948 report:

"It is possible, even probable, that the nation has potentialities which could again place it among the most important producers of the Western Hemisphere."

And a Pemex spokesman topped this by saying that the enterprise's geological and geophysical exploring parties, 34 of which are in the field, had located 10 to 50 billion barrels of potential reserves, yet to be proved by actual test wells.

A "neutral" American observer credits Pemex with having made a good start toward training the technical staff it needs, but says that there still is inefficiency and waste.

Pemex officials do not deny that they could do with a good many more technicians, who, they say, are being developed as fast as possible. As for waste, the Pemex people point to the shallow oil beds near Tampico which produce almost nothing today after decades of foreign management in which millions of barrels were spilled in the rush for profits. In contrast, say Pemex men, the deep Poza Rica field, south of Tampico and now Mexico's richest, is being nursed along, still short of maximum yield.

At any rate, using all available drilling rigs, Pemex was able to sink 83 wells in 1948, which is barely enough to maintain over-all output.

Finances are a delicate subject. Being a government agency, Pemex must operate within the entire national picture. Two quotations from Bermudez help to make the point:

¶ Petroleos Mexicanos' . . . work does not consist solely in producing riches economically useful to the public, but in serving directly the interests of the nation itself.

¶ Petroleos Mexicanos can carry forward this [development] work at the rhythm which its income permits. . . . But to advance with the desired speed, its income is not enough.

Obviously the 311 million pesos paid in taxes last year could have paid for a lot of refineries. And obviously the Aleman administration considered other work of more importance. In an April press conference, Aleman said that agriculture and not oil was Mexico's No. 1 problem. This matches up with the tremendous irrigation program, with many costly dams, that the President has been pushing through. It is plain that Pemex is helping the rest of the national economy to catch up.

Pemex also must fix its domestic selling prices with only one eye on profits, the other being aimed at what will do the country the most good. Eighty-octane gasoline costs 17 cents a gallon, tax included, in Mexico City, and 60-octane is 14.2 cents. The distribution system hasn't been able to catch up with demand in northwest Mexico, and petroleum products have had to be imported from the US. These are still being sold, probably at a loss, as if the peso were 4.85 to one. "Politics," snort American observers. "A public service," Pemex replies.

Another blow has been the decline in world crude-oil prices from $3 to $1.35 a barrel, which hurts Pemex in its dollar receipts.

Labor is less of a problem these days, though the Sindicato de Trabajadores Petroleros (STP, or Petroleum Workers' Union) has been muttering of a strike as it negotiates its 1949 contract. The union's leadership tends leftward, but Aleman has been less gentle with labor than his predecessors and no trouble is expected.

The union is seeking to boost minimums by four to six pesos a day, which would lift them to 13 to 14.65 pesos. Pemex's own figures show that *average* wages for the 28,807 oil workers are 19.64 pesos a day, plus 3.96 worth of social benefits, for a total of 23.60. This is about $3 US, and at least double the pay of other government workers.

Taking 1937, the last year under private operation, as 100, the index for oil workers' income now stands

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at 245.8. This contrasts with the cost-of-living index for Mexico City, which now is 327.9 in comparison with 1939. On that basis the workers would seem to be no better off financially under government management.

In compensation, however, the government has made these improvements in the oil centers:

	1938	*1948*
Number of schools	26	42
Number of students	3,100	17,400
Number of teachers	80	305
Hospitals and medical stations	15	51
Doctors on duty	70	230
Cost of medical services (pesos)	1,200,530	8,500,000

Consumers' co-ops have cut the prices of necessities and sanitary work has lessened tropical diseases. Sports programs, bands and libraries have taken the place of the dives which made Tampico the widest-open city on earth in the days of the private companies. On the whole, the oil worker would seem to have a better life today.

If labor is not a major problem, the technical and financial barriers to Pemex's growth are. The production needs have been indicated. But it costs $75,000 to $125,000 to sink a well, and the crews as well as the equipment will have to come from the United States, since Pemex already is using every trained Mexican.

The distribution headache results chiefly from the foreign companies' taking out oil from the Gulf Coast for immediate shipment abroad, with scant provision for supplying the major population centers in Mexico's interior. The limping railroads are unable to deliver enough, and a tank-truck fleet only partly supplements them.

Doing as much as it can with its own funds, Pemex has laid a natural-gas pipeline from Poza Rica to Mexico City to lessen fuel-oil consumption. Aided only by a $10 million Export-Import Bank loan, it has improved its 18 de Marzo refinery, which now makes aviation gasoline, formerly imported. Pemex also is building, slowly, a refinery at Salamanca, in central Mexico, and a pipeline from Poza Rica to supply it. Just started is a pipeline across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to take care of the West Coast. New natural-gas fields near the Rio Grande are feeding their growing output into the pipeline that is still bringing gas from Texas to the industries of Monterrey, but three-quarters of that city's gas still must be paid for with dollars. Refineries are needed at Guadalajara, Monterrey and Guaymas to keep fuel pumps from running dry, and these, with their pipelines, are still only blueprints.

Thus the quest for a foreign loan. This began with an inquiry into Mexican oil in 1948 by the House Commerce Committee, then headed by Representative Charles Wolverton (R, N. J.), since succeeded by Representative Robert Crosser (D, N. J.). Bermudez outlined to the committee his five-year, $470 million program which he said would result by 1956 in a 170-million-barrel annual production, of which 100 million would be available for export to repay a loan.

The committee seemed interested, out of good neighborliness and as preparation for an "emergency" (read "war"), so Bermudez went to Washington in February to lay his detailed figures before US officials. He returned in late April with a handsome collection of kind words, but no decision. The ultimate result is anyone's guess at this writing, but the most believable "inside tip" has the US granting some $100 million in credits, project by project, and under close supervision. Pemex is confident that the US military, wanting oil supplies near home, will swing the balance.

Meanwhile, coppering its bets in case the loan fails, Pemex has signed drilling contracts with at least nine firms, four of them Mexican and the rest American, under terms that provide for repayment out of the oil produced, all of it to be marketed by Pemex. The most spectacular of these is with a group headed by Edwin Pauley, which is to work for 25 years along the southern Gulf Coast.

Pauley announced the last week in May that his group was going to work at once to explore the first of seven offshore sites assigned to it and expected shortly to sink its first well. Three land sites also are in the Pauley contract. Some US observers have raised legal doubts about such deals with Pauley, but these persons ignore the basic fact that Mexico cannot afford to jeopardize its reputation by welshing on the new contracts.

Pemex publicists, to build up faith among foreign investors, have been pointing out that the organization has met without fail all its international obligations, including payments for expropriated properties and on its Export-Import Bank loan. But the majority of US oil operators, backed by the Chicago *Tribune* and the *Wall Street Journal,* have maintained a constant fire against doing business with a "socialist" enterprise.

Over and over again, Bermudez has replied that US oil companies can work under the present Mexican laws if they do not "wish to take all and give nothing."

On the other hand, no one in Mexico considers that there is the slightest possibility that the government ever will let control over its richest natural resource slip into foreign hands. Loan or no loan, Pemex is here to stay.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: A State Department Shell Game

I AM WRITING again about Franco's Spain. It is one of the most important issues before the people. More is involved than merely the question of voting Spain into the United Nations, or of resuming friendly relations with it, or even of Senator Pat McCarran's murderous attempt to cut the appropriation for ECA. The McCarran proposal is to carve as much as $50 million out of the vitals of that bill in order to hand it over to the dictator of Spain who is desperately in need of money to maintain his trigger-happy soldiers in luxury.

Senator McCarran is usually so crude in his operations that it is easy to fathom his tricks. However, it has been less clear that the State Department has been playing footsie with Franco under the diplomatic table. This despite the fact that we were given a peep at what was going on at Lake Success when Ray Atherton, the close friend of Secretary of State Acheson, made a speech that, in effect, supported the effort of Brazil to bring into the fold of free countries one that denies all freedom to its people. The reaction to the Atherton proposal was so critical that Secretary Acheson immediately announced that we would abstain from voting on the motion to admit Franco's Spain to the United Nations. Apparently we still shared the conviction of the democratic countries of Western Europe that Spain, under a dictator, was not to be numbered among the civilized nations.

At the time of the Acheson-Atherton *faux pas*, it was discovered that, for all the pretense of our State Department that we had broken diplomatic relations with Franco, we were playing the wanton with him *sub rosa*. We may ostentatiously have sent his ambassador back to Spain and recalled our own, but actually we are now living in diplomatic concubinage with Franco. In an article on May 23, I pointed out that Dr. Jose de Lequerica, although not officially accredited to us, was operating here as the *de facto* ambassador of Franco. At first he did what he could to promote the candidacy of Governor Dewey. When his hopes of Dewey's election were dashed, he hurried to Washington where he continues, apparently with the consent of the State Department, to work for the political and financial advantage of Franco.

Surreptitious diplomacy is bad diplomacy, especially for a self-governing people. A diplomatic breach with Spain that is only pretended is worse than bad. It would be far healthier to receive an accredited Spanish Ambassador than to carry on a morganatic relationship with a de Lequerica. It is in derogation of the prestige and dignity of the United States to traffic through the back door at dusk, with an agent who has not been recognized. De Lequerica came here more than a year ago to "inspect" the embassy. Is the State Department unaware of this? Recently he has dispossessed a member of the Spanish Embassy of his home. Apparently his intention is to favor us for an indefinite period. At the least, should he not register as a lobbyist? By what specious reasoning can the State Department justify the presence here of a non-accredited representative of Franco who, as Spanish Ambassador to Vichy at the time of our defeat at Corregidor, exultantly gave a state dinner to celebrate, with enemies of the United States, the crippling blow struck by Japan?

In a recent by-line, Colonel Robert S. Allen wrote that Franco maintains a lobbyist in Washington by the name of Charles Patrick Clark. Apparently he has registered according to the law, and he is said to receive a retainer of $50,000 a year. Such remuneration, probably with generous allowances for expenses besides, is not to be sneezed at by a man who at one time was on the legal staff of the Truman Committee.

Clark has the sonorous title of Spanish Legal Counsel to the Division of Cultural (cultivating?) Affairs of the Spanish Embassy. The "cultivating" in which he and de Lequerica are particularly interested relates to such men on the Hill as the distinguished Senator McCarran. They, or others, have done a good job for Franco in "cultivating" the belief that it would be a Christian act on our part to irrigate Spanish culture to the extent of $50 million as a beginning. While de Lequerica makes himself cozily at home on the Hill, Pablo Merry de Val, who at least is listed as a counselor of the Spanish Embassy, slips from cocktail party to cocktail party, ingratiating himself not only with thirst-quenching Senators and Representatives, but with the self-anointed social elite of Washington.

When Secretary Acheson took over, there were high hopes that he would put the career boys in their place and that he would really take control of the department in which they had been running hog-wild. The easy infiltration of these Spanish Nazis, who as implicitly take orders from Franco as does any Communist from the Cominform, justifies the suspicion that Secretary Acheson either does not know what is going on in his own department or is no more able to cope with it than were some of his predecessors. Time is running out on him.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

PATTER, DISTRACTION, AND POETRY

by Robert Fitzgerald

THE PULITZER PRIZE for 1948 was awarded to Peter Viereck, whose *Terror and Decorum* (Scribner's; $2.50) is a novelty among first books of poems. The poet seems to have been prepared for fame: he has forestalled his bibliographers by including a two-page list of all his poems, with their original titles and the periodicals wherein they appeared or were reprinted, and a page entitled "Prose by Peter Viereck" listing his articles and book reviews. The fact that one article was in French and one in Italian hints at his linguistic attainments, and his travels are attested by the place names that accompany many poems—Stonehenge, Carthage, Athos, Assisi, the Borghese Gardens. . . . There is a liveliness about all this.

The poems are lively, too, and a few of them sustain a neat, coarse clarity and a satiric turn of fancy that is not disagreeable. "For Two Girls Setting Out in Life," "To a Sinister Potato" and one or two of his "Theological Cradle Songs" strike me as complete and rollicking compositions. The appearance of these qualities, and the appeal they seem to have, are evidences of a shift long under way from visionary concentration in poetry—from the high styles of Yeats or Crane or Tate or Thomas—to a drier and airier attitude, a more epigrammatic vein. William Empson's less diamondlike later poems are examples; Karl Shapiro's postwar lyrics are others; John Betjeman's are minor masterpieces, and Auden was at it long ago.

In Viereck's case, however, the shift is so indiscriminate that on the whole it looks more like a relapse. Auden has been saying, usefully but a little carelessly, that poetry is not a religion but a game; now Viereck describes it as "a hoax redeemed by awe." Perhaps this is open and aboveboard but it is not relevant to most of the examples offered, which are redeemed, if at all, by Viereck's wit—and his wit is frequently dreary. He has a warm, breezy, familiar way of being acutely embarrassing, as when he calls, in a poem to Hart Crane, "Hey, Hart, don't jump." In something called "The Big Graveyard" the reader is treated to five stanzas of riddling metaphors on The Cosmic Womb and, finally, to this flashing stroke:

> The living noon whose tulip gapes with peace—. . . .
> But soon: the tomb whose two lips gape.

Thus is language made to yield her every nuance. The book also contains a brief prose insertion in which Viereck discusses the poet as "culture-hero" with a glibness that puts the reader at ease: here, at least, is no such formidable figure—just a man who knows all about it. The favorable reception of this patter may be significant, but I judge it to be momentary, for Viereck has as yet written very little to which one could wish to return often or with serious interest.

Among the better books of poems by young writers published last year were several that I am sorry not to have reviewed sooner. John Berryman's first book, *The Dispossessed* (William Sloan Associates; $2.50), is well-stored with almost all the virtues that Viereck has yet to cultivate, including literary tact. Whatever his skill with other languages, Berryman understands this one; his uses of English rhetoric are responsible and ingeniously studied. There is a wandering monotony of mood in certain stretches of his book, but this breaks up, quite brilliantly, in some of his "Nervous Songs" and in his more recent poems. What these do, with great richness, is to state and suggest, in one context or another, the *pathos* of contemporary distraction: the jagged bits of high-speed experience; the very dim, very dense past; the gabble from various quarters; the exhaustion, and the unguided, interrupted straining after stillness and spirit:

> Draw draw the curtain on a little life
> A filth a fairing Wood is darkening
> Where birdcall hovered now I hear no thing
> I hours since came from my love my wife
>
> Although a strange voice sometimes patiently
> Near in the air when I lie vague and weak
> As if it had a body tries to speak. . .
> I must go back, she will be missing me

In Theodore Roethke's second book, *The Lost Son and Other Poems* (Doubleday; $2.50), there is a long poem in four sections that rises to a more universal occasion than most of Berryman's and has, I think, important merits. The earth, meaning damp dirt, slimy roots, sticks and stones, is something that the dead, and children, are closer to than anyone else except rare farmers or greenhouse-keepers; Roethke's unique sensibility seems to combine the intuitions of all these.

His short lyrics have been mildly good, but his long poem is of another order. It is, among other things, a skeletal evocation of the mystery and wild fear in a real experience of that earth which is "a filth a fairing" behind every life. The handling of rhythms is original and sure, the form abstractly or dreamfully dramatic, with choral jingles and sharp, eery backchat in an earth-tongue of Elizabethan energy:

> These flowers are all fangs. Comfort me, fury.
> Wake me, witch, we'll do the dance of rotten sticks . . .

That is concision of a haunting kind. A memorable kind, if I may make the distinction, can be found among the short poems and epigrams of J. V.

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Cunningham in his second book, *The Judge Is Fury* (Swallow Press and William Morrow; $2). Dry elegance has rarely said so much so briefly:

Deep summer, and time pauses. Sorrow wastes
To a new sorrow. While time heals time hastes.

Cunningham has a good, bitter mind and all the discipline desirable; in fact a little more than is good for him. The English language is apt for classical graces; it is also magical, hot-hearted and mixed, as Berryman and Roethke know, and Cunningham runs a certain risk in his austerity. There are things that he could say, but will not, as long as his vocabulary remains chill and his medium transparent. Having said this much, I can quote a poem that in part controverts it:

Dark thoughts are my companions. I have wined
With lewdness and with crudeness, and I find
Love is my enemy, dispassionate hate
Is my redemption though it come too late——
Though I come to it with a broken head
In the cat-house of the dishevelled dead.

Most of the more interesting young English poets are beyond such hard-bitten stuff as this; indeed their casual, impeccable writing makes it seem a trifle crude. An anthology called *New British Poets* with an informative but cocksure introduction by Kenneth Rexroth (New Directions; $3) presents them all in fair enough selections. On the one hand, in work like Anne Ridler's and Henry Reed's, there is a meditative and unforced quietude of phrasing and a turning toward private simplicities; on the other, in Nicholas Moore's poems especially, a complicated use of the same dovelike tones for purposes of extreme "sophistication." I distrust generalizations of this kind, but it might be said that English poise is wearied, if unbroken, no longer highly responsive to the tooth and claw of actuality, and somewhat farther gone in the distracted trance that afflicts all but the toughest of this generation. Empson has put it baldly:

It is this deep blankness is the real thing strange.
The more things happen to you the more you can't
Tell or even remember what they were . . .

Meanwhile bardship in Britain remains with the Celts on whom it devolved some time ago. The best combat poems in Rexroth's collection are passionate things by a Scot named Sorley MacLean; the finest imagery is by an Irishman, W. R. Rodgers; the great lyrics are certainly those by the Welshman, Dylan Thomas. I think it unlikely we shall see anything surpassing Thomas' genius in our lifetimes. There is majesty in his poem on a London child's death, by fire, in an air raid—majesty, and real terror and decorum; one's hair rises at the sound of this music:

Deep with the first dead lies London's daughter,
Robed in the long friends,
The grains beyond age, the dark veins of her mother
Secret by the unmourning water
Of the riding Thames.
After the first death, there is no other.

Comparison is, of course, rather rough on other English verse of recent publication. Edith Sitwell's *Song of the Cold* (Vanguard; $2.75) contains nothing quite as good as the title but it does contain twelve early poems in the true, stick-candy Sitwell manner that show how mistaken the poet was to attempt the grand historical and religious themes that inflate her so. *The Edge of Being*, by Stephen Spender (Random House; $2.50), is likewise full of anxious rhetoric and uncertainty of vision. There are always nice lines and passages in Spender, and in this book there are some of a certain strength, as if the iron had entered in; but the lyric style that went to pieces ten or more years ago has not by brave efforts been reconstituted. Louis MacNeice's *Holes in the Sky* (Random House; $2.50) has the same old style, middling-neat, observant and facile, in which the poet can run on and on in perfect confidence that his talk is more interesting than you are likely to find on any street corner or in any bar. There is a better MacNeice style, but not much trace of it is to be found in these poems.

As for the new books by Americans, none but Robert Frost's *Complete Poems* (Holt; $6) requires attention. Frost is a master within his range, and a reading of his lifework makes it clear that his range is wider than people often suppose. The controlled development of his talent, and the finality and grace of statement in his best poems, are of moral no less than artistic value, exemplary for all who practise this art. Where he has not been an influence in American poetry he has been a presence, of which curious marks are to be seen, for example, in the early work of Eliot. His vein of romantic triviality and perversity is not hard to distinguish, and it may be indulged.

That stern critic, Yvor Winters, considers Frost an Emersonian and therefore untrustworthy sage; but he would probably concede that on occasion Frost has had a harder edge and eye than Emerson, more humor, and more of the fear of God. It would be going too far to think of him as a religious poet, but his work tends toward wholeness, and thus toward a catholicism of the heart. The economy and caution that have kept his mind provincial, and prevented him from essaying the great assimilative effort of Pound and Eliot, is very much in the tempo of the older America that persists in the new; and that is not so bad, either. If he has not been a "culture hero," neither has he been a culture ruin. Some of the most gifted of the young American poets have acknowledged a debt to Frost: Randall Jarrell, Robert Lowell, Karl Shapiro; but to demonstrate it I shall quote, not from their work, but from a still younger man who is less well known. Here is the first stanza of a poem called "The Death of a Toad," by Richard Wilbur (from *Poetry*):

A toad the power mower caught,
Chewed and clipped of a leg, with a hobbling hop has got
To the garden verge, and sanctuaried him
Under the cineraria leaves, in the shade
Of the ashen heartshaped leaves, in a dim,
Low, and a final glade . . .

Wilbur's immaculate verbal choices,

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his freshening of the sense of life within a rigid metrical frame, and not only within it but by means of it, recall Frost's writing at its best.

THE FACE OF EVIL

ACTIONS AND PASSIONS: NOTES ON THE MULTIPLE REVOLUTION OF OUR TIME, by Max Lerner (Simon and Schuster; $3.50).

THE BIG PRESS is a great source of danger to a democratic society. It would be impossible to exaggerate the degree to which it has distorted or concealed the basic facts of contemporary life in the United States during the last quarter of a century; the choice is almost between those sheets which are opiates and those which are poisonous. The newspaper *PM* had its faults, too, but as this collection of Max Lerner's editorials clearly shows, it was the best and boldest attempt to buck the trend of modern journalism.

In terms of his fund of information, the depth and perspective of his thinking, his capacity to relate daily events to a larger cultural framework, Lerner himself belongs to the older tradition of enlightened public voices. He is in fact excellent—one of the few first-rate minds now at work in the area of journalism—and he has usually been attacked because he has cut through the shibboleths of both the Left and the Right. The present book covers the years from 1944 to 1948. The editorials, or essays, range from a nostalgic piece on the Model T Ford to the war in Palestine. There are excellent discussions of sports, movies, academic freedom, the TVA and the loyalty purges. There are interesting sketches of such contemporary figures as Dreiser, Toynbee, Goebbels, Lilienthal, Sartre, Hopkins and Wallace.

Lerner's attitude is usually tough-minded, militant, positive. Though he ends the book with an essay that invokes a "tragic humanism," there is nothing in his work that suggests a self-conscious or purely fashionable despair. And yet I can't help thinking —just because of this, perhaps—that *Actions and Passions* is one of the most disturbing documents about the American scene that one could possibly read. The core of the book lies in its studies of mass hysteria and social corruption. The increasing amount of race feeling and religious prejudice; the day-by-day account of industrial warfare in the United States; the military and political depravity that was revealed in the May-Garsson case and in that of General Meyers; the cold-blooded story of the 1948 Republican convention at Philadelphia; the collapse of the Marxist dream of world revolution, and the history of America's uneasy leadership in world affairs —put all these together, and much more, for page after page, and you have something very close to what Lerner calls "the face of evil."

Actions and Passions is akin to the documentary literature that formed a special genre in the 1930's, and that, when they are as well done as this one, are invaluable source books for the social historian. But meanwhile we should all take another look at the national scene, and there is no other recent book that has described it so well. MAXWELL GEISMAR

Maxwell Geismar is the author of Writers in Crisis and The Last of the Provincials, two volumes of literary criticism and social history that deal with America from 1915 to 1940.

POE AND YEATS

THE HISTRIONIC MR. POE, by N. Bryllion Fagin (Johns Hopkins Press; $4).

THE GOLDEN NIGHTINGALE, by Donald A. Stauffer (Macmillan; $3).

AS A NEW STUDY of the Poe "myth," N. B. Fagin's book considers the poet's life and work in relation to the arts of the theatre. Its attitude of amused detachment is a welcome change from the reverent and breathless tone of much work on the subject.

Poe's connection with the theatre was, first of all, an inherited one—an acute consciousness of the acting profession of his parents. In the nouveau society of his adopted home, this took the form of an instinctive defense of the theatre and of actors, and the development of a flair for exhibitionism. In addition, the author devotes a chapter to Poe's later interest in the theatre and his work as a dramatic critic, which shows the poet's mind and style to a new advantage and adds considerably to one's respect for him.

But it is mainly as a non-professional on a wider stage that Poe is noticed: "The key to his humanity as well as artistry seems to have been his talent for acting." This begins to illuminate the persistent "mystery" of Poe's character and, incidentally, the mystery of his enduring popularity which that character has so largely supported. "Our emotional and critical attitude towards his work," says Fagin, "seems to have only a slight and remote connection with our warm curiosity" about his person. But the person, it seems, who "has greatly 'amused' us, for over half a century," is a complexity which Poe deliberately created: "The ardent, sad lover; the underprivileged, the misunderstood; the lover of beauty, of gentleness, womanhood. His identification with his own character-creation was at times so complete that art and life became interfused; the actor became the character." The mystery which has been traditionally felt to attach to him, then, is really an instinctive suspicion about a bogus character.

The really mysterious thing is how the character presented could have been found fascinating and attractive by several generations. For it is precisely that figure, apart from his work, and particularly in the unbecoming light of the now published letters, which is objectionable and even repellent. That romantic character which was formerly the most persuasive plea for attention to the poems and stories must now be separated from them, in their own interest, by some such study as the present one. The author sees it as a matter of changing taste. Poe's created character, as he delicately puts it, was "romantic art, and by modern naturalistic standards, short of convincing; but by the standards of the time, and by the standards of refined, 'sensitive' ladies like Mrs. Osgood, 'divinely beautiful'."

Fagin's relation of this histrionic person to the writings themselves is

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excellent in detail, and his critical estimate seems just, perhaps because it is ingratiatingly slight. But his explicit recognition of Poe's limitations argues convincingly the value of the work within those bounds. He seems particularly keen when he says that Poe "deplored the very necessity which obliges the poet to use words at all, and he appreciated verse only as 'an inferior or less capable Music'."

Finally, since this book necessarily explores Poe's reputation in the work of other writers on the subject, it has resulted in a kind of history and corrective of Poe criticism. For this, for its skillful documentation, its sensible critical judgments, as well as for a style unusually urbane and lively in current writing, it is to be recommended as a book of real value.

Donald Stauffer's book, subtitled "Essays on some Principles of Poetry in the Lyrics of William Butler Yeats," is based on some interesting disavowals. He hopes that "this long prelude" to his book "indicates my awareness of the murder I am about to commit in order to dissect." It is not the surgery —not even the violence—which one resents, but the ether of words. A bewildering alternation of categorical statements (on art, the poet, truth, etc.) and highly figured speech is studded with interminable references along a range of unfocused erudition.

Stauffer says, "Our initial consideration is not of [Yeats's] poems, but of the main lines of thought that lie back of them." He is certainly not saying much about the poems when he calls them "so rounded and ardent and brimming," nor about the poet when he says that "in the cradle, Apollo touched his mouth with honey." But neither is he saying much to the purpose about the "thought" when, for example, he writes in symbolical language of the symbol in Yeats, or when he apostrophizes Yeats's "theory of the lyric—the cold, hard, brave, proud pattern, intense with passion, all its strength and sweetness rolled up into one ball. . . ."

Stauffer, indeed, admits the limitations in his method when he claims that "something indescribable should be left, beyond the range of the critic." But, after such modesty, why does he not concentrate on his range instead of on the indescribable, on what he calls in one place, "the dilemma of all mystics?" JOHN FARRELLY

SULLIVAN'S ORDEAL

GENIUS AND THE MOBOCRACY, by Frank Lloyd Wright (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $5).

OSTENSIBLY A MEMOIR of the great architect who was his master, *Genius and the Mobocracy* is likewise Frank Lloyd Wright's confession of faith. Even more significantly, it is a penetrating criticism of American society, civilization and culture. For, through an account of the development of our modern architecture, he shows why today "life by imitation, like a sickness, spreads wide and thin over the vast surface of a continent."

The book pays tribute to Louis H. Sullivan, whom Wright honors as his only teacher and inspirer. Sixty years ago, as a youth of twenty, he joined Sullivan's staff and became his chief draftsman. There followed seven years of intimate association, during which Wright developed his own revolutionary principles from Sullivan's doctrine that "form follows function." The quality of Sullivan's genius was made evident by the majestic Chicago Auditorium, and by the Wainwright Building in Buffalo—the first skyscraper, so Wright asserts, to be conceived as "nobly tall instead of a simpering super-imposition of several or many low buildings to arrive at height." Widely and weakly imitated, Sullivan was less and less frequently employed. After two decades of obscurity, his talents wasted, he died penniless and almost forgotten in a shabby Chicago hotel.

Meditating on Sullivan's tragic career and his own long struggle to win acceptance in his native land, Wright examines the forces which, in the United States, economic conservatism marshals to frustrate creative innovation. Our scientific, professional and educational institutions, he believes, are responsive to the will of economic authority. They concertedly oppose the diffusion of new ideas. They discredit the proponents, and eventually succeed in diluting the ideas until these attain a degree of sterility which makes them acceptable to the established order. Illustrating this process by Sullivan's experience and his own, Wright analyzes its effect on our architecture, which has failed to produce buildings "appropriate to the unprecedented life now to be lived in them." He pleads, in this book, for a new spiritual and social orientation. Like Emerson and Whitman, he demands that all the forms of our civilization be endowed with organic integrity. "Should our democracy now determine to build for the freedom peculiar to itself," he asserts, "our ideology could well serve for the emancipation of humanity." And with a confidence equal to his vision he adds: "I believe this nation *will* so build." LLOYD MORRIS

THEATRE: The Director's Job, No. I

READERS of this department may remember that some of my "Footlight Chats" last winter were devoted to stage direction as a contribution to the content of plays seen in the theatre. These "chats" omitted any explanation of the process or mechanics of the director's work, not from oversight but because I am skeptical of the contribution technical analysis can make to audience appreciation. A number of readers, however, assure me that even a slight notion of the work that goes into the production of a play may serve to enhance an audience's awareness of the theatre as an art.

It is difficult to make general statements about the technique of directing because each director has a different approach, based not only on his taste

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but on the particular circumstances that govern at the time of production. Are the people he is directing amateurs or trained? For what sort of audience is the play being done? Under what economic conditions? For this reason I prefer to write on the subject not as a critic but as a professional director.

Recently, I directed the permanent company of the Habimah Theatre. This group is used to much longer rehearsal periods than are allowed in the American theatre, but because of my limited stay in Israel the rehearsal period for "Montserrat"—four weeks—was even shorter than the usual time of preparation for a play on Broadway. Within certain limitations, then, I pursued a method there that was almost identical with what I do at home.

One circumstance in the situation was altogether new: I neither speak nor understand Hebrew, the language of Israel and the Habimah company. This fact emphasizes a crucial point. Contrary to the notion that the director's work is chiefly to coach actors in the correct delivery of lines, direction is essentially something else. It consists, first of all, in the planning of action.

Every play is constructed as a chain of action. Each character in a play wants something, and when he appears on the stage he does something intended to carry out his will. He comes "to announce," "to investigate," "to persuade," "to threaten," etc. The character encounters the will of others who have different wills (or actions), and out of these encounters—they are usually conflicts—dramatic situations arise. Every character has a main action that controls all his lesser actions. "To search for the truth" was what Gordon Craig thought Hamlet's main action to be. The shaping of the play's actions—the lesser within the greater—is the director's job.

On familiarizing himself with a text, the director forms his own judgment on (a) the meaning of the play; (b) its style or tone; (c) the effect it should have on the audience. He then begins to seek the concrete means by which his conception is to be embodied in the actors and in all the available scenic material. To do this the director must ask himself what is the play's basic action—its main source of conflict—which gives it its meaning, and what special attributes of style (historical, national, personal) color the action to give it its particular quality. A similar basic action might occur in a play by Ibsen and in one by Shaw, yet the director cannot treat the two alike without inviting disastrous results.

Some people may view what I have said thus far with alarm. What I have described is supposed to be—and usually is—an "automatic" process. But "automatic" processes have a structure and are considered automatic only because of the rapidity with which they manifest themselves. Far too many productions are so "automatically" conceived that the results are flat and characterless. One cannot direct a play of any genuine quality without giving some thought to the problems I have outlined.

The basic action of "Montserrat" has to do with the choice of a way of life. Choosing a way of life under extreme circumstances—during a war, a revolution, the occupation of one's country by a hostile power—may involve a choice of the manner of one's dying. How one chooses to die depends on how one has chosen to live. Most people rarely question their choice of a way of life, or, if they do, misinterpret its meaning. In "Montserrat" seven characters are faced with possible execution. The situation leads to an exposure not only of their behavior in relation to this possibility but through this to an understanding of their fundamental relation to life.

The director's decision as to the play's basic action is an individual matter. It would be entirely possible for another director to conceive "Montserrat" differently—for example, as a struggle of the person of revolutionary spirit with both the "average man" and the determined skeptic. The difference between the two interpretations is not merely a matter of different critical statements; the change of in-

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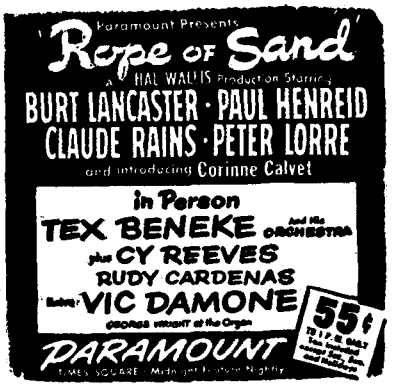

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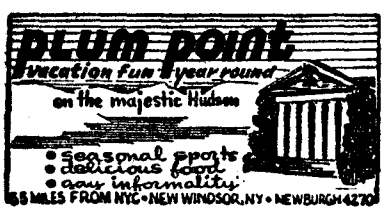
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terpretation would necessitate different kinds of production in almost every respect.

To demonstrate this point would take me too far afield. I shall continue therefore to outline the steps necessary to the realization on the stage of the interpretation I have suggested. That is the task of my next article.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: The Richards Licenses

IT APPEARS that there will be a real showdown in the case of G. A. Richards, the principal owner of three maximum-power (50,000 watt) radio stations: KMPC, Los Angeles; WGAR, Cleveland; and WJR, Detroit's self-styled "Goodwill" outlet. The Federal Communications Commission, in orders issued July 26, 1949, designated for public hearing a complex of issues, all of them arising from charges that Richards had ordered slanted newscasts and biased commentaries at KMPC. Under the latest FCC rulings, the Commission will look into Richards' qualifications to hold a broadcaster's license anywhere.

This department has gone into the details of the Richards case before (December 6, 1948; March 7, April 4, 1949). Since my last report, Richards has come before the FCC with a brand new plan. He would relinquish control of all three stations, vesting it in the hands of three trustees. The men named are John A. Hanna, Lawrence P. Fisher and Harry J. Klinger. The first is president of Michigan State College; the other two are directors of General Motors.

A memorandum filed with the FCC by a group of seven Jewish organizations, opposing this trusteeship plan, pointed out that:

> None of the trustees has had any previous radio experience except that Michigan State College . . . holds an AM license. . . . [The trustees] recite that they are not sufficiently familiar with the operation of the stations to state what their policies will be except to say that they will adhere to a "Statement of General Policies . . . adopted by the Board of Directors of KMPC."

The trustees would have been empowered—while operating along the policies of the very KMPC where the bias charges originated—to vote all of Richards' stock. But it happens that his wife controls more shares at WJR (32.62 percent) than does Richards (27.49 percent). His daughter, too, is in the business, owning more than a fifth of KMPC.

The Jewish memorandum continues:

> Under the plan, Richards would play the role of principal financial backer. The trustees state that they are not committing their funds, and the Commission is even asked not to look into their finances. Hence, if at some future date the trustees decide that additional funds are needed for the stations, they will have to go to Richards. It is difficult to view [the plan] as anything more than an attempt to provide a respectable front for a discredited operation.

Instead of dropping the hearing on the Los Angeles charges after Richards contended that the trusteeship plan solved everything, the FCC ruled that it will consider those original accusations, *plus* the validity of the trusteeship proposal, *plus* Richards' own qualifications for retaining any broadcast licenses. The Commission also handed down a supplementary order referring to WGAR alone. The Cleveland station is operating on a temporary license. Its eligibility for license renewal now becomes part of the over-all hearing. The FCC will make a separate announcement soon stating the date and place of the hearing.

The Richards case is important to every American individual or organization with a civic conscience or political orientation to the left of Richards (his 1948 choice for the presidency was General MacArthur).

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When I proposed here, very seriously (April 4), that a syndicate be formed to apply for all three of Richards' licenses, absolute silence was my reward. I'm just stubborn enough to repeat that idea. I named a group of potential applicants for those licenses, deliberately cutting across all Fair Deal and left-of-center elements from James Roosevelt and Henry Morgenthau Jr., to individuals and organizations active in the Progressive Party. The FCC's latest order adds timeliness to my suggestion. The Jewish organizations who entered the anti-Richards fight furnish the motive.

Before I quote the logic behind the memorandum on which I shall rely for summation, here is the list of the organizations on whose behalf a New York attorney, Irving Kane, filed the brief before the FCC: the American Jewish Congress (which was a party to the original KMPC complaint, along with the Radio News Club of Los Angeles), the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans, the Community Relations Committee of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, the Detroit Jewish Community Council and the Jewish Community Council of Cleveland.

Now this is why these groups—note that they include the organized Jewish communities in each of the three cities where Richards operates—have entered the fracas:

The undersigned organizations are all actively engaged in the struggle against racial and religious discrimination and prejudice. The events of recent decades prove that the liberties of all peoples may be subverted by intergroup hatreds. The danger is increased by the fact that the effectiveness of radio as a medium for the spread of racism is now fully recognized by those who seek to destroy democracy as well as by those who hope to defend it.

This proceeding also has a broader significance. Radio-station licensees are under a duty to serve the public—to use the privileges granted to them to advance the interests of the entire community. The Commission [the FCC] has repeatedly emphasized the importance of preventing use of publicly granted radio licenses for the propagation of the licensees' own political views. Distortion of the news in favor of or against any group, whether racial, religious, economic or political, is an evil which must be thwarted.

Cannot the badly splintered liberals of all wings subscribe to every word of that platform? Isn't this a practical enough issue to serve as a test of our collective responsibility toward matters beyond dogma? Richards has plenty of pals in high places. What are *we* waiting for? SAUL CARSON

BANDWAGON

Far from the Madding Crowd

Improvements are being made in Guadalupe's Commercial Hotel. Phil McCormick, owner of the institution, is taking the men's room out of the lobby and moving it into the rear of the banquet room.—*From the Santa Maria (Calif.)* Times.

Through a Glass Darkly

"Can't you give us something to tell the people who ask what the Republican Party stands for?" plead anxious inquirers.

All Hugh D. Scott Jr., GOP national chairman, is able to reply is to refer his questioners to the record of the Eighteenth Congress and the 1948 platform, and recommend that they project that combination of principles into the future as representative of what the Republican Party will offer.—*From the Kansas City (Missouri)* Star.

Freedom Without License

High-school students at this mountain resort were given the day off to celebrate their first American Independence Day yesterday. They were promptly drafted by a golf course to caddy for the holiday throng of American golfers.—*UP dispatch from Sengokuhara, Japan.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Please enclose the original clippings.—The Editors

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